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PREFACE

In 1935 the late Snr. Curt Nimuendajú (who died on December 10, 1945, among the Tukuna Indians) began ethnographic researches on behalf of the Department of Anthropology. The work was financed mainly by the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of California, and in part by the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. So far, three major monographs have appeared as a result of these investigations: The Eastern Timbira (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 41, Berkeley, 1946); The Apinayé (The Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series, No. 8, Washington, D.C., 1939); and The Serénte (Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Vol. 4, Los Angeles, 1942). In addition, there are a series of provisional reports antedating complete presentation of the facts, and some minor papers, notably Social Organization and Beliefs of the Botocudo of Eastern Brazil (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 2:93–115, 1946). These were translated by the editor from the author's German manuscripts, at times revised on details on the basis of years of correspondence between author and translator.

In 1941 and 1942, Nimuendajú, who had spent fifteen days among the Tukuna in 1929, paid them a second and a third visit of six and five months' duration, respectively; the present treatise embodies the results. However, during World War II a regulation of the Brazilian government prohibited the use of the German language in correspondence, so that Nimuendajú was obliged to write to me in Portuguese, and I to him in English. Since the law extended even to monographs, the paper herewith presented was likewise composed in Portuguese. Its translation was accordingly entrusted to Mr. William D. Hohenthal, who not only lived in Brazil when he was a boy and received part of his education there, but was attached to the Brazilian army as an infantry instructor on loan from the United States Army, 1945–1947, and is married to a Brazilian lady. As a graduate student in anthropology, he also understands the ethnographic technicalities that sometimes baffle a layman no matter how familiar he is with the language from which he translates. Apart from providing a most conscientious rendering of Nimuendajú's meaning, Mr. Hohenthal has taken endless pains in compiling a glossary of Brazilian terms and checking the identification of botanical and zoölogical species.

The present is the last major contribution of Nimuendajú in the editor's possession. Several lesser reports in German on the Northern Kayapó and some other groups are designed for publication in periodical journals.

ROBERT H. LOWIE

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I. INTRODUCTION

Tribal Name

101 The tribal name has two versions: Tikuna (Tekuna) or Tukuna (Tokuna). Of the earlier writers, Padre Samuel Fritz (1691), Ribeiro de Sampaio (1774), Spix [114] and Martius (1819), and Ayres de Cazal (1831) use the first forms; Acuña (1639), Berredo (1718), and José de Moraes Torres (1759) use the second; Monteiro Noronha (1768) uses both. Apparently, only the first version is used in Peru; in Brazil, however, both forms are in vogue, and it is noteworthy that some travelers (Herndon and Gibbon, 1853; Orton, 1875) employ the term Tikuna in Peru and Tukuna in Brazil.

101 The Kayuiššána, neighbors of these Indians, call them Tukuna, the form that 114 Koch-Grünberg heard among the Indians of the Rio Apaporis. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not have a name for the entire tribe. He quotes Veigl, who says that, although they speak a common language, they regard the tribe as being made up of different nations; this error on Veigl's part may be attributed to the Tukuna use of the Portuguese word "nação" in referring to their clans.

[198] In this lingua franca spoken by the Indians, Tikuna is the most common version; this statement holds true for Brazil as well as for Peru. However, in their own language the Indians of the tribe employ exclusively the form Tukuna, or Tukuna, the first u having a high intonation and a light tonal accent: Tu:'ku:na. I have verified this pronunciation many times and with Indians of different localities.

According to Veigl,[1] the Portuguese called the Tukuna "chumana"—a gross error, since the two tribes are clearly distinct.

Physical Type

141 The Tukuna are of average stature. According to Barbosa Rodrigues, the mean height of six men and six women measured in Tonantins was 149 centimeters and 145 centimeters, respectively,[2] figures which very probably are not accurate.

142 The skin is quite dark. The features of the face are in general coarse, the supraorbital ridges and the cheekbones pronounced. The nose is thick and prominent, the upper jaw strongly developed—not owing to the thickness of the lips but to true prognathism, which becomes immediately apparent when the mouth is agape so that all the teeth are visible. In some exaggerated cases this form of mouth produces an almost Negroid aspect, as Herndon noted among the neighboring Marubo of the Solimões.[3] However, I do not believe that this should be attributed to intermixture.

The iris is dark brown. The eyelid opening is either narrow or medium; the inclination is generally horizontal, with a few cases of obliquity.

During childhood the smooth, thick, black hair is somewhat reddish. Wavy hair is found only in individuals who show other evidences of mixed descent. The eyebrows are normal or scanty; the beard, if it appears at all, is sparse, even at a

[1] Quoted in Tessmann, Die Indianer Nordost-Perús, p. 559; see also Martius, Beiträge zur Ethnographie u. Sprachenkunde, 2:443–483.
[2] Barbosa Rodrigues, Tribu dos Ticunas, p. 52.
[3] Herndon and Gibbon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, 1:243.

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175 Simultaneously, the Kokáma Indians of the lower Ucayali region began to emi-
648 grate to the Brazilian Solimões, where they established themselves among the
Tukuna, though in separate localities. Their most important period of settlement
[361] was in the middle of the nineteenth century at Jurupary-tapera (Santa Cruz)
on the left bank of the Solimões, between the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo
and that of the Igarapé da Rita.

Today some two thousand of these Indians dwell in Brazil, along the banks and
177 islands of the Solimões from the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença to the Auatí-
paraná. They live in peace with the Tukuna but avoid contact and do not meddle
with them. The cultural influence of the Kokáma on the Tukuna has been practi-
cally nil.

From 1864 to 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay. Even today the Tukuna
175 guard the traditions of the persecutions which they suffered from the "Varaváyu";
however, they designate by this name not the Paraguayans but the Brazilian re-
cruiting troops, to whom they offered armed resistance. The few Tukuna recruits
[731] who returned brought back with them a new epidemic of smallpox, which caused
havoc in the tribe.

In 1871 there was founded within the bounds of Caldeirão, at a spot immediately
175 below the mouth of the igarapé of this name (today Belém), a mission which already
797 had a nucleus of Tukuna Indians and which eventually possessed a chapel, 30
361 houses, and 171 inhabitants. By 1877, however, this establishment was in complete
ruin.

In the last two decades of the past century the rubber-gathering industry began
175 its extraordinary development throughout the entire Amazon region. It was for
648 the Tukuna a sad era of exploitation, slavery, and abasement under the heel of
greedy *patrões*, ignorant men but superior in force, which lasted for almost forty
years; to this day they have not yet recovered from the effects, although the last
of these squirearchs has long since disappeared.

However, even today there are some individuals, living at the mouths of the
igarapés inhabited by the Tukuna, who willfully desire to hold the Indians subject
to their selfish patronage. It is to be hoped that the Indian Welfare Service,* which
was established in the region in 1942, will put an end to these anachronistic views.

There are no written records of the total number of Tukuna for any period of
161 the past, but very conservatively I estimate their present number in Brazilian
territory at more than 2,000, their total number as 3,000; they are therefore one
of the most numerous tribes in Brazil.

Scientific Exploration

114 Before 1928 no one had studied the Tukuna in their primitive settlements. One
or another traveler had been present occasionally at some episode of their celebra-
tions, collected from the Neobrazilians of the area some not always accurate infor-
mation, or had some Indian of the tribe for a paddler; but it appears that no one
had spent even a day among them. The first reports, which many other writers
utilized for more than a century, we owe to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha and
to Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, who were briefly in the Tukuna country

* Serviço de Proteção aos Indios.

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in 1768 and 1774, respectively. Both apparently used the same informant, since they give almost identical information on the transmigration of the soul, circumcision at the conferring of a name, the nudity of women, and "idols" (masks). 114

In 1820 Spix was present at a child's hair-plucking ceremony in Tabatinga.[a] He reproduces in his atlas the entrance of the masked dancers, which he describes; but he fails to give any details of the ceremony, which must have strongly aroused his curiosity since he attended it. I have the impression that his observations as an eyewitness were limited to that entrance alone. He obtained some further information at second hand and recorded the first vocabulary of the language. Henry Lister Maw, who was in Tabatinga in 1828, also describes a masquerade dance, which he attended in the company of a local missionary.[b]

Castelnau, descending the Solimões in 1846, could hardly have observed the Tukuna culture; however, he gives some notes on curare and a small vocabulary.[c] Paul Marcoy, who met a Tukuna canoe on the Atacuari, furnishes another small word list and gives three portraits.[d] His account of the phonetics of the language is exaggerated.

In 1851 Herndon, in the company of a local missionary, surprised and interrupted the cure of a sick person in Caballococha.[e]

Bates (1857–1858), gives a description, with an illustration, of a ceremony with masks he witnessed near São Paulo de Olivença. It obviously concerns the end of a puberty ceremony, which the author took to be a wedding. Orton (1867) furnishes scanty information, based on Bates, and a small vocabulary.[f] Barbosa Rodrigues (1872–1874) reports measurements of twelve Tukuna Indians taken in Tonantins and discusses curare.[g] Rivet (1912) offers a study of the Tukuna language, based on four previously published vocabularies.[h] Tessmann (1930 !) reports on an extensive interrogation of one Tukuna Indian. On some points he is wholly inaccurate.

Nimuendajú records the results of a fifteen-day visit he made in 1929 to the Tukuna of Igarapé de Belém, of Lago de Cajary, and of Igarapé de São Jeronymo.[i] He notes the division into clans and moieties, gives a résumé of material culture, publishes two incomplete myths, and discusses some poorly understood points.

In 1941 and 1942 he paid a second, six-month, visit to the Tukuna, and a third visit of five months, living with the Indians of the Igarapés Mariuaçú, Tacana, Belém, São Jeronymo, and Rita, and at numerous settlements on the islands and along the banks of the Solimões. His linguistic material comprises texts of legends and songs in the original language. Since he did not visit the Tukuna of Colombia or Peru, all his data, except where otherwise stated, refer to the Tukuna in Brazilian territory. The present work synthesizes the results of the three trips.

[a] Spix and Martius, Reise in Brasilien, 3:1188; Martius, 1:444, 2:159, 413.
[b] Maw, Journal of a Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, pp. 211, 218–227 *passim*.
[c] Castelnau, Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, 5:23, 41–46 *passim*, 50, 59, 61–62, 83, 298–299.
[d] Marcoy, De l'Océan Pacifique à l'Océan Atlantique à travers de l'Amérique du Sud, pp. 147–148.
[e] Herndon and Gibbon, Exploration, 1:234–248 *passim*, 252.
[f] Orton, The Andes and the Amazon, pp. 232, 233, 237, 320, 378, 470, 472.
[g] Barbosa Rodrigues, Ticunas, pp. 52, 53, 152.
[h] Rivet, Affinités du Tikuna, pp. 83 ff.
[i] Nimuendajú, Besuch bei den Tukuna-Indianern, pp. 188–194; Idiomas indígenas del Brasil, pp. 543–618.

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Articles of use, clothes, for instance, are kept in a large basket made of *uarumã*, with a lid and a round mouth. Four pointed bulges woven in the lid and at the bottom serve as feet (pl. 5, *b*). Another type of uarumã basket, with a round mouth, has a flat, square lid and bottom (pl. 5, *d*). Baskets of these two types are found in all sizes, from 4 to 40 cm. in diameter. There are other small conical baskets woven in spiral technique, with flat bottoms. I do not know whether they are aboriginal or are imitations of the Neobrazilian *balaios* (hampers or fruit baskets). 352 285

In many houses nowadays one sees trunks that have been purchased from the Neobrazilians. In most houses, however, clothes and tucum fibers are suspended from the crossbeams. Almost always, too, there are the remains of preparations for the last celebration: some costumes hanging from the house posts, fragments of tururí cloth thrown on top of the highest crossbeams, dance batons thrust beneath the roof thatch, small drums tied to the corner rafters, grotesque masks wrapped in bundles of tururí cloth, and rolls of tururí containing ornaments. Frequently, also, one sees ears of maize tied together on the crossbeams or the loft. 352 [439]

The kitchen.—Nowadays at least, no one keeps or cooks food in the living quarters. For this purpose there is always a special little hut, ten to fifty meters away from the main house. Today this is invariably a rectangular shelter with a ridge roof. 343

According to Bates, the fires were built in the open space in the center of the house.[1] But the haphazard construction of the house he describes makes one doubt that this was customary, nor can one understand how the Indians, if they had kitchen fires in the middle of the house, could carry on in it such active ceremonies as the puberty ceremony. Moraes Torres, however, describes a Tukuna house which he saw a few years before, in 1852, perhaps in the same place (near São Paulo de Olivença), in which the space encircled by the inner series of the roof supports "served as kitchen and dance-hall."[2] It is noteworthy that most accounts give the cook shed its Portuguese name, *cozinha* (T., kuči'nã). 343 114 [354]

All this leads one to believe that such separate sheds were an innovation that appeared when the Tukuna learned the preparation of fermented manioc flour, *farinha d'agua*, from the Neobrazilians, and that they are variants of the Neobrazilian oven "houses." At the same time, the Tukuna swear that these sheds have been used since the old days and that the aboriginal type was also circular. 343 [177]

In any case, the separate cook shed is today an outstanding characteristic of all the Tukuna settlements, distinguishing their houses at first glance from those of other peoples of the region, who cook beneath the roof of their dwellings or in an attached shed. In the Tukuna shed one finds everything necessary for preparing the daily food, as well as for making manioc flour.

The kitchen fire is distinguished by a *trempé*, a three-legged stand placed over the fire to hold a cooking pot. It consists of three pieces of baked clay, the central part, on which the pot rests, being either pierced or solid. [354]

Nowadays, fires are lighted by means of matches or a flint and steel lighter acquired in trade. According to Tessmann, fire was formerly produced by striking 372

[1] Bates, The Naturalist on the River Amazons, 2:403.
[2] Moraes Torres, Itinerario das viziitas, p. 93.

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continued movement the sand widens and deepens the grooves, so that in time the binding has to be drawn tauter until finally the two sections of wood close completely about the cipó. This labor, which is very tiring since it lasts four days, is carried on invariably by two men, one standing on the platform, the other below, working just as if they were sawing boards in a sawmill.

Removing the grooved pieces from the scaffolding, but always keeping the cipó bound within, they untie and retie the lashings, section by section, reducing the piece to a round shape instead of the former square shape, the thickness varying from 1 to 1.5 cm. at the muzzle and from 3.5 to 4 cm. at the breech. They then cut off a section at each end—since here the abrasive action of the sand and movement always widens the bore a little too much—and with wax they firmly join the two halves. The two lengths they then bind spirally on the outside, from end to end, with a strip about 3 cm. wide from the smooth cipó guembé, and coat the whole with wax again.

At the breech they add a mouthpiece of *mũirapiranga* wood (*Cesalpinia echinata; condurú de sangue*) in the shape of a hollow spool. About 10 cm. from this they affix a sight made of wax, with a tooth of the squirrel, *acutipurú* (*Sciurus* sp.), set longitudinally with the convex side up.

Finally, they polish the barrel with a long wad of dried maize leaves with a cord tied at each end. Placing the blowgun in a horizontal position, two persons, each grasping an end of the cord, pull the wad back and forth through the bore until the desired result is obtained.

The Tukuna blowgun never has jaguar (*onça*) teeth at the mouthpiece as Tessmann was informed,[14] nor is the muzzle funnel-shaped, as in the plate of Barbosa Rodrígues.

In the house the blowgun is bound parallel to and pressed flat against a roof pillar, where it is tied at the top and bottom by two loops of cord. In order to remove any curvature, small wedges are inserted at the precise spot necessary between the weapon itself and the post to which it is lashed. When the weapon is not in use, the cleaning rod is generally left inside it.

I greatly admired the agility of the Tukuna in running through the jungle with this weapon, for its length makes it a clumsy thing to carry, and it is too fragile to stand strong knocks. But the Indians shift it from above the head to one side or the other, never knocking it against a tree trunk, and do not appear to be inconvenienced.

The dart (ɔča'gu) for the blowgun is about 30 cm. long and 2 mm. thick. A twist of kapok, *sumaúma* (*Ceiba pentandra*), is rolled on at the rear end; below the point of the dart a small circular notch is cut so that the tip will break off in a wound.

The darts are kept in a long, small, cylindrical basket, *aljava* (yɔ:'ru), with a square bottom and a round mouth. The outside is covered with wax and has tied to it a small sack which contains kapok. The Tukuna do not attach the little curare container shown in Barbosa Rodrígues' plate, since, before leaving the house, they always poison the number of darts they calculate will be needed. They spread the poison on the tip of the dart with a small spatula, then lay the darts so treated

[14] Tessmann, p. 560.

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since it will lose its strength if brought to a boil. If it thickens too much, water is added. The process is tedious and demands much attention. When the liquid has reached the desired thickness, after about ten days, some six or eight black beetles called "pu^{a}a'vɐ," which feed on the fungus that grows on rotten wood, are sought in the clearing and are tossed alive into the liquid. These insects exude a fetid, yellow excretion. They are removed after about an hour, and the curare is then thickened with extreme care over a slow fire until the final consistency is that of a very dense honey, which grows even thicker upon cooling. The color is dark brown. 278

The mass is transferred to a small, globular pot (gu:'rɛ̃-čɛ-[ɲ̃) especially made for this purpose, its mouth being covered with a banana leaf and securely tied. If the curare thickens too much with the passage of time, it is softened with a filtered infusion of pounded dyu'-ne leaves.

Fig. 6. Cross section of bow.

The production of curare is not at all a secret, although naturally each maker has his own individual technique. Although women and children are often present at this operation, they never take part in it beyond helping the husband bring home the raw materials or scraping the roots. Von Hassel's statement that "entre los Ticunas tienen las mujeres ... el oficio de fabricar el veneno" is inexact." Sometimes they prepare a special little fire for this purpose at the edge of the clearing, but I have also seen them use the kitchen fire itself, the food being cooked to one side. [462]

The efficacy of the Tukuna poison is discussed in the works of Barbosa Rodrigues and Santesson," the latter dealing with the curare which I brought from Igarapé de São Jeronymo in 1929. I myself have seen it used in hunting monkeys. The effect on the wounded animal is to produce immediately incontinence of feces and urine, the creature falling in about three minutes. [114] 411

Calixto daueru'kị told me that, while poisoning some darts for a hunt one day, he wounded himself very superficially in the hand. Immediately the action of the curare produced spasms of the facial muscles, pains, and incontinence of urine and feces. He cured himself by drinking his own urine, which the Tukuna consider the only remedy. 752

I was told of another Indian who went alone into the jungle to hunt with his blowgun. When he fired at some arboreal animal, the dart erred in its flight, ricocheted off a tree, and struck him in the back. Later, he was found dead in the jungle. It is because of such experiences that the Tukuna prefer not to go alone while hunting with curare. 411 [752] [224]

For large game they do not use the blowgun, but the bow and arrow and lance. The bow (vɐra') is sometimes 2 m. long. Figure 6 shows it in cross section. The

[11] Hassel, Las tribus salvajes de la region Amazónica del Perú, Bol. Soc. Geog., 17:58.
[12] C. G. Santesson, Ein starkes Topf-Kurare von den Tucuna- (Ticuna-) Indianern des oberen Amazonas, Acta Medica Scandinavica, 75:1–9.

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264 into the common vessel. This gesture is as common as the pinch of the fingers. The Tukuna eat neither avidly nor hastily. During and after the meal they belch unreservedly and with evident satisfaction. Each one gets up when satisfied, goes to the platform where the water jugs are kept, washes his hands and mouth, and takes a swallow.

252 When the fish or meat have been on the smoking-rack (moquem) for many days
262 and have thus become too hard, they are cooked with scraped green bananas until the mess completely disintegrates, the whole turning into a coarse pap (l.g., *mogica*). These are the two main foods.

Aside from these regular meals, however, someone frequently prepares a little snack over the kitchen fire, roasting either on the coals or on a spit a green banana, an ear of maize, sweet manioc root or yam tuber, or even, on the grill, bundles of green leaves containing a frog, a handful of beetle larvae, or minnows. The yam, especially, may be called the bread of the Tukuna.

Beverages

272 I have already mentioned the beverages prepared from the fruits of the burity, baeabeira, patauá, and açahy palms. Later on we shall see the great importance of fermented drinks in the social and economic life of the Tukuna, as well as the injurious effects of intoxication, their one vice.

273 There are three principal fermented drinks for ceremonies: (1) čavị-čị'ị, a maize drink (l.g., chicha); (2) čaị", from boiled sweet manioc (l.g., *caiçuma*); (3) pa'yavaru, from burned manioc flat cakes (l.g., *paiauarú*).

● [114] The first and second are pre-Columbian. Tessman's statement that the Tukuna
[177] do not use beverages made of maize is erroneous. The paiauarú was probably adopted from the Neobrazilian population which speaks the lingua geral; it is little used by the Neobrazilians of today.

For chicha, dry, ripe maize is pounded by the rocking-board; water is placed to heat over the fire and, when it boils, the meal is slowly dropped in and constantly stirred. It is permitted to boil until it becomes soft, when it is removed from the fire. A mouthful of a certain, special kind of sweet potato (*Batatas edulis* or *Ipomoea batatas*) is masticated and placed on top of the boiled maize, but without mixing it. Only after the mass of potato has settled is the combination stirred
[237] with a spatula made from the shoulder blade of a manatee (T., kə'ruvë). The person who chews the sweet potato first washes his mouth and chews the leaves of a plant called və'ča, which stings the mouth and lips, turning them and the tongue black. Finally, the liquid is strained through a sieve into a jar, where it remains. Generally, it will have turned potent by the following day.

To prepare caiçuma, the Tukuna peel a sweet manioc tuber, cut it into small pieces, and crush it to a pulp with the rocking-board. To the mass they add a gourdful of sweet potato and strain it through a sieve into a jar. A little cane molasses speeds up the fermentation.

Paiauarú is made in the following way. A sufficient quantity of manioc cakes is made, the cakes being baked in the oven until slightly burnt on the surface, when they are placed in a wide-meshed basket and dipped for an instant into hot water. The dough, about two or three fingers thick, is then spread out on banana

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123 the botanist Ricardo Fróes (who was with the Tukuna in 1941 at the same time I was)" nor I ever gave rum to the Tukuna, yet they never failed us in the innumerable times we put our trust in them. We paid them promptly and properly for services rendered, thus gaining the enmity of the patrões and traders, who thought that we were undermining their interests by "leading the Indians into bad habits."

[114] [a] Ricardo de Lemos Fróes, botanist also of the expedition to the upper Rio Negro country in 1945, directed by Felisberto Camargo, under the auspices of the Instituto Agronômico do Norte, Belém do Pará.—Trans.

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304 [301] ***Piercing of the septum.***—The Tukuna have largely abandoned the practice of piercing the septum, which accompanied perforation of the ear lobes. When they pierced it, they wore in the hole a wand of reed or canna brava called vë-ëra'ñ (from vë, introduce; rañ, nose).

[177] ***Tooth filing.***—The Tukuna custom, which today has become quite common, filing to points the upper incisors and, more rarely, the lower as well appear have been acquired by contact with the Neobrazilians. Yet the mother of one of my informants condemned the practice as improper and ugly and said that this operation was designed to prevent caries, which forms easily between the teeth—an explanation which is perhaps a secondary rationalization.

[386] ***Tattooing.***—The question of primitive tattooing among the Tukuna is difficult to settle satisfactorily; some writers probably took for tattooing what was actually only painting with the juice of the genipa (*Genipa americana*), which is still widely used today.

304 531 114 Padre Monteiro Noronha, the first author to devote a small chapter to the tribe, says that they "have the same strokes [as their neighbors the Caca-tapiiya: a wide black stroke, curled at the tip, which begins next to the nose and ends at the sides of both ears] but narrower and shorter." Martius mentions "eine oder zwei schmale, quer über das Gesicht laufende, tätowierte Linien. Doch findet sich dieses Merkmal keineswegs gleichmässig." Castelnau writes: "D'autres avaient sur les joues deux lignes noires transversales," without indicating whether the lines are painted or tattooed.

One of Marcoy's plates shows a male Tukuna with a double stroke or line in the shape of a loop that begins next to the ear and ends in a small cross on the cheek with an extension to the corner of the mouth. Bates writes: "Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short, straight lines on the face." His illustration represents the Indians with two short, parallel lines on each cheek, extending slightly to the side of the nose. Ortt who as far as the Tukuna are concerned seems to have copied Bates, describes them as "tattooed in numbers of short, straight lines on the face." Lastly, the Tukuna of Barbosa Rodrígues has on each cheek a curved line (the curvature pointing downward) from the nose to the ear, and another almost parallel line that begins at the corner of the mouth. There is no indication whether these are painted or tattooed.

304 [177] Today there is not a single Tukuna with tattoo on the face, the bit that appears on their arms being an imitation of Neobrazilians.

304 171 531 According to Nino, my best Tukuna informant, tattooing came to the tribe from the ču'mana (Yumána) Indians. These people, however, used an oval network pattern surrounding the mouth, with ramifications of the design extending to the ears. Nino told me that the members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', used formerly to tattoo the cheeks in imitation of the markings of macaws. The lines of the design were first drawn in by burnt *cicantã* resin and were then punctured by a needle.

304 531 Another informant told me that "those who were learned" had the figure of a crayfish, *caranguejo*, and a scorpion tattooed on the forearm or on the back of the hand, and that the dye was the juice of a plant called bu'rë (see p. 42).

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Circumcision.—Another practice which today cannot be properly explained is circumcision. In my opinion, all the references to this custom are based on the account of Ribeiro de Sampaio, who saw the Tukuna briefly in 1774 and repeats a résumé of data obtained by Padre Monteiro Noronha in 1768. 304 114

Monteiro Noronha says:

> A few days after birth children of both sexes are circumcised by their mothers, who are charged with this operation. The males have the tip of the prepuce and the lower ligature which secures the glans cut; the females the exterior excrescence [clitoris†]; [but] for a clearer description of this practice the interest of curiosity must bow to the prejudice of modesty.

The report is explicit, at least as regards the male sex, but if it is as inaccurate as some of the accounts of this same author on animism and idolatry, it is of little value.

Nowadays, at least, there is not the slightest remembrance of male circumcision, and, although the Brazilian Tukuna recall the corresponding operation as being formerly performed on girls, they themselves assert only that this custom once existed—and perhaps even still exists—among their Peruvian congeners. The reference is probably to an excision of the *labia minora*, made for reasons of hygiene, as they indicated to me, shortly after the child is born. My informants said they would regard the appearance of a woman so circumcised as disgusting. 304 [171]

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534 A piston flute, ňĕ'kutɨ (fig. 7, *a*), made from the bark of *cipó mucunã* (*Mucuna* sp.), completes this group of wind instruments. The tube is 40 cm. long by 2 cm. in diameter; the piston is a small rod with a wad of *embira* (envira) at one end.

Two instruments, used by both sexes, invariably accompany any and all ceremonial acts: the small drum and the rattle stick. The first, tu:'tu (pl. 14, *i*) is clearly European. The body is a short cylinder of *ôca de ambaúva* wood (*Cecropia* sp.) from 20 to 30 cm. in diameter. Each end is covered with the dry skin of the guariba monkey or the *surubím* pegged down by a hoop. The two hoops are wedged fast by another pair of hoops placed over them and connected by zigzag cords. A

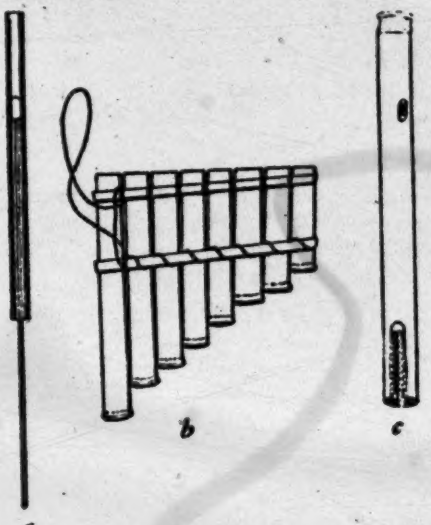

Fig. 7. Musical instruments. *a*. Piston flute, × ⅛. *b*. Panpipes, × ⅛. *c*. Bamboo horn, × 1/12.

cord stretched tightly across the drumhead, sometimes with a bead or small piece of metal tied in the center, hums when the drum is struck. The instrument hangs by a loop of cord from the end of the dance staff or dangles from the left hand. The beat, produced with only one drumstick (tu:tu-ñarɨ-pa 'ru'ɨ[a]) about a hand breadth in size, made of either muirapiranga wood or bone, is simple and measured, marking the rhythm of the dance but not that of the chant, which is carried on independently of the drumbeat.

[533]

534 481 177 Anyone observing the Tukuna marching, to the sound of the drum, with measured step in lines of two or three, one behind the other, with the dance staves over their shoulders, cannot but notice the resemblance to the marching of soldiers. I consider it quite possible that the Tukuna formation is nothing more than an imitation of the soldiers' march, adopted, together with the military snare drum, from the frequent occasions when these Indians attended military exercises at Fort Tabatinga, founded in 1776.

534 ● 114 It is strange that neither the drum nor the dance staff, which are seen today in all the houses and are indispensable at any feast, is mentioned by any of the writers

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who attended earlier Tukuna ceremonies.[1] Maw writes that the arrival of the masked dancers "was announced by a noise (I think by beating a kind of a drum)" and only Bates, in 1857, speaks of a "monotonous see-saw and stamping dance accompanied by singing and drumming."[2]

There are no drums or dance staves in the illustration "Maskenzug der Ticunas" in Spix's atlas, nor are there any in Bates's. However, the European-type drum was spread among tribes to the north of the Amazon, whence it could have come to the Tukuna through other Indians; and Spix attended a dance among the Passé and Yuirị' that he characterized as a "nationalen Militärmarsch."[3] However, in this place there was also a foreign military detachment.

Spix gives us an indication of what was probably the original form of the Tukuna drum. Describing the entrance of the masked dancers, he writes: "Den Beschluss machte ein altes hässliches, ganz schwarz bemaltes Weib welches auf einer getrockneten Schilkrötenschale einen einförmigen Tact schlug."[4]

Even today this type of drum, called pɔ:'vi, or tɔri'—from tracajá, "turtle," because it is always made of turtle shell—is used along with the other wood-and-leather drum, although only for specific ceremonies and in a way which differs from that shown in Spix's illustration. Furthermore, the shell is usually much larger, the ones in Spix's plate being from 50 to 60 cm. long. A rod for striking the drum is securely tied on it in a horizontal position. The drum, with the plastron facing up, is hung horizontally from the house roof, about 1 m. from the ground, the two ends of the rod being held by two men, one of whom handles the drumstick while the other shakes the rattle. The head of the drumstick is wrapped in tururí bark cloth. Grasping the rod of the drum, the two men dance four paces to the front and four to the rear. Behind them dance the others.

The text of the chants sung on this occasion refers to the turtle and consists of the repetition of a few words:

1. The turtle is our child.
2. The soft place in the black mud.
3. The cove of the river of half-white water.
4. The grey ambaúvas are his resting place.
5. Like the royal hawk I seize my turtle.
6. His lake has muddied [troubled] water.

and so forth. A strange element is the use of Tupí words in these chants: river panana' (Tupí, parana'; Tukuna, ta/tị), and royal hawk, virava' (Tupí, wịra-wasu'; Tukuna, da:vị).

At a fixed moment the two men remove the drum from the cord and, holding it by the ends of the rod, take a few turns with it about the house where the feast is being celebrated, accompanied by the other dancers. This instrument, as well as the dance form, appears to me to be entirely aboriginal.

The large xylophone (slit drums), *torocána* in the lingua geral, were never used by the Tukuna, who only know of them from the Witóto and Miránya.

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188; Maw, p. 220.
[2] Bates, 2:405.
[3] Spix and Martius, p. 1186.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1188.

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VI. CHARACTER AND SOCIAL LIFE

181 114 AT FIRST SIGHT the Tukuna appear to be a very peaceful, industrious, and good-tempered folk. Some writers, however, accuse them of laziness, the foremost of these being Ribeiro de Sampaio, who opens his description of the tribe in 1774 with the sentence: "São os Tecunas de hum natural preguiçozissimo" ("The Tukuna are of a most indolent temperament").[1] Martius speaks of their "indolence and innate intemperance."[2] Bates calls them "much more idle and debauched than the other Indians belonging to superior tribes,"[3] and on the following page he observes: "I found them a harmless, good-natured people." Orton repeats this judgment almost to the letter: "good-natured and ingenious . . . but they are idle and debauched."[4]

Herndon calls his Tukuna paddlers "even more lazy and careless than the Sarayaquinos,"[5] but he later reflects: "Poor fellows! They have been abused and maltreated so long that they are now insensible even to kindness." And again, "The Ticunas that I had with me, however, were far the laziest and most worthless people that I had hitherto had anything to do with."[6] But again this author remarks: "I believe that this [i.e., worthlessness] is not a characteristic of the tribe, for they seemed well enough under Father Flores at Caballococha, and they have generally a rather good reputation among the whites on the river. I imagine that the proximity of the garrison at Tabatinga has not a good effect upon their manners and morals."

Barbosa Rodrigues finally declares firmly: "In general they are hard workers and of a peaceful temperament. It is only the civilized white who drives them to it [retaliation] by persecution, rape, robbery or by maltreatment, since these qualities cannot be denied them in their wild state."

181 648 The fact is, that even today one encounters the most contradictory opinions of the Tukuna character, each opinion depending largely on the observer's own attitude toward the people. Until about thirty years ago, when rubber was reaching fabulous sums, the Tukuna were brutally tyrannized by their civilized masters, who usurped all of their lands and treated the Indians practically as slaves. today there are in the region a few die-hards of this class of domineering squirearchs who arrogate to themselves the trusteeship of the Indians, as though it were their primordial right—indeed, almost duty—as self-appointed civilized persons. Now, however, their power is fast declining, and the Tukuna who recognize this are labeled "rebels," "insubordinate," and "loafers," because they refuse to work any longer under the old conditions; "thieves," because they feel that, even though they steal as much as possible from the Neobrazilians, they cannot possibly steal as much as the Neobrazilians have stolen from them; and "treacherous," because they will not suffer outrages and violences without retaliation.

123 181 I lived absolutely alone among the Tukuna for many months, and from the beginning I always felt completely at ease among them. Even before I became intu-

[1] Ribeiro de Sampaio, Diario da viagem ... 1774 e 1775, § 212.
[2] Martius, 1:443.
[3] Bates, 2:401.
[4] Orton, p. 320.
[5] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:247.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

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net. His mother and aunt, taking their burden baskets, went to fetch manioc roots, which they had put to soak; the uncle was bathing near by. Aside from the youth, there remained in the house only a little boy some seven years old. Suddenly the youth fell from the platform, which was about 2½ m. above the ground, and for some time remained immobile on the floor. Then he said: "Why didst thou quarrel with me? Now I shall leave!" He arose and took to the jungle. The little boy followed him in bewilderment; but the youth, noticing him, left the trail and hid himself. A little later he returned to the house, staggering, fell upon a box, and there died of the poison he had taken.

There is one very serious motive for feuds and murder among the Tukuna: the suspicion that certain persons are using their magical powers to the detriment of others. Without exaggeration, this suspicion affects 10 per cent of the total population, with varying intensity; it is confirmed and accepted by some, denied by others. In the section on "Magic and Religion" I shall discuss this subject in more detail.

Drunkenness.—Drunkenness is the Tukuna's national vice and their only one. At their feasts, men, women, and children drink, and perhaps half the men and a tenth of the women and children become intoxicated. Many continue to dance even when drunk, beating a drum and singing without annoying anyone; but some become troublesome and offensive. Others, exclusively men, drink until they collapse into a hammock or in some corner, or even in the yard, where they vomit and sleep it off; still others grow quarrelsome, provoking more or less serious brawls that result in injuries or even deaths.

The small extent to which alcohol arouses the sexual instinct in Indians is notable; the youths drink, dance, and beat drums with their companions throughout the nights and days, apparently having no eyes for the girls, who in groups of two to five are doing the same thing. I have never seen Tukuna youths, whether drunk or sober, fighting over girls.

However, at these parties, in some corner of the house or yard there is invariably a group of men, already more or less senile, who humor themselves with obscene jokes, accompanied by hoots of laughter and illustrative gestures, though they never annoy the opposite sex with their nastiness.

Industry.—One cannot tax the Tukuna with being "most indolent," as did Ribeiro de Sampaio; and the yarn about the Indian who lives with his family for a whole week on a bunch of bananas, passing the entire time sleeping or swinging in his hammock, appears quite different to a firsthand observer.

Except for those who are on the road to ruin because of their dependence upon civilized establishments, above all on rum stills, the Tukuna maintain a stable economy in their own lives. Many of them through their own efforts succeed in obtaining such material improvements as good firearms, iron tools, and sufficient clothing—even sewing machines.

Unmarried youths work least—when they do not hire themselves out to the Neobrazilians—but girls and married couples are hardly ever idle except after sundown. Usually, whenever I sought out a Tukuna, it happened that nobody was at home, or at most, only the children were. It was necessary to wait until afternoon when the owners returned to the house from their work. The reason that

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On the third day of the feast, sometimes even on the second, but always after the vərĕk|'s hair is plucked, the masqueraders, after receiving a fee in the form of smoked meat, remove their costumes in the center of the house and leave them in a heap to be turned over to the host. 881

A few more comments may be made on the three illustrations of the masked race of the Tukuna in the literature with which I am familiar, the accounts of Spix, Marcoy, and Bates. Spix's artist, when he recomposed the scene, evidently no longer had the masks which Spix had collected or, if he did have them, they were incomplete, so that all or most of them were reconstructed from memory. Only in this way may be explained the following details: the strange cloth tangas worn by some Indians of both sexes; the nudity of nine of the thirteen masqueraders, who are shown wearing only headdresses, which never happens; the lack of fringes on the costumes (which probably had already been removed when Spix acquired the costumes);[10] the uncovered face of one of the masqueraders, which is contrary to all the elementary rules; the child carried in the arms instead of in a sling; and the turtleshell drum being beaten from the wrong side. Finally, the solemn pace of the persons in the illustration disagrees with the text, which states that they danced and leaped about like goats. Equally in disagreement with the text are the age of the child as portrayed and the color of the woman playing the drum. 881 114

Even less accurate, however, is the representation of the masquerade in Marcoy's work; it suggests that the author never attended such a ceremony and never had at hand the costumes, which he probably never succeeded in seeing. The best of the three accounts is that of Bates, who, however, conveys the erroneous impression that the ceremony he saw was a wedding.

Songs of the masquerades.—It appears that anciently each type of masked dancer owned its own songs, which the performers sang when they presented themselves. But nowadays very few know how to recite them, and many chants are already forgotten, just as are many stories referring to the origin of certain costumes. The following three songs are literal translations from Tukuna texts. 533 539 881

Song of the Two Saguins

The feast was ending. In the hut she was making a sieve. She caressed the marmoset [*saguim*] and said to him: "dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!" He then left. On the way he met his brother-in-law. "Let us enter [the feast house]!" he sang. He repeated what his mistress had said to him. "My mistress, dyĕkʊ'čina, said to me: 'dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!'" They gave her smoked meat from the feast. His brother-in-law dɔ'kara-ɬiɲ [long ears] answered. He sang: "Go ahead! Put it [the smoked meat] on top of my ear; thou shalt see how tiny my hand is!" 539

Song of the Maiee Masquerade

O mortal! If thou hadst not been well guarded already, I should not have been taken away for thee from the underworld ñŏča'ku. In ancient times aria'na, by being immortal, took me from the underworld ñŏča'ku! (See pp. 112 f.)

Song of the Rotten-Log Masquerade

Penica-pau![11] yata'-yata', slowly or thou wilt splinter ŏ'ranŏnŏ' [name of the rotten log], the customary place of the yellow macaws, the jutting end [of the log]!

[10] These fringes are removed after the presentation of the masks. See p. 90.
[11] A southern Brazilian variant of *pica-pau*, "woodpecker."

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881 The cipós securing the laths of burity palm frond are cut, and the laths are pushed to the two sides like curtains, so that the vərẽkị and her retinue may pass through. Very slowly, always advancing and retreating, the group approach the aperture, delay further in leaving, moving forward and falling back, and finally arrive at the central place in the house where they continue their seesaw dance, changing places slowly at the front. It is believed that in this hour the girl is exposed to the greatest danger, hence her relatives hold her by the arms with the greatest care, supporting her in front and back and holding the feather crown firmly over her eyes.

881 The way Bates explains the care taken of the vərẽkị by the female relatives is amusing. Convinced that he was witnessing a marriage, he writes: "During this
114 whole time" the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the elder squaws, whose business seemed to be seduously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boozing." And in the plate we see the "bride" between two women, while a little farther away is the "bridegroom," making sheep's eyes.

881 During this dance with the vərẽkị it was customary to sing certain verses no longer generally known today. A literal translation from the original Tukuna text follows.

[539]
1. Oh, what is it now that our vərẽkị has come among us, all covered with plumage?
2. Oh, what dost thou say now of her toucan feathers?
3. Like a caterpillar [in chrysalis] our vərẽkị was placed in seclusion by us!
4. [Challenging the guests' slight animation]: Art not thou absolutely ashamed to chatter like agoutis?
5. I shall not become a disagreeable anthill!

After five o'clock the group with the vərẽkị slowly commences to go forth into the yard in their backward-forward dance, continuing to dance there and passing several times around the house until sunset, when the group halts, the feather crown is raised from the vərẽkị's eyes, and her arms are released. A shaman lays
[789] a firebrand before her. With rapid movements of his fingers he removes some invisible object from his own head and, with a gesture of rolling it in front of his body, lays it on the firebrand. Then, handing this to the vərẽkị and pointing out to her a pupunheira tree—or, if there is none, any other tree—he tells her: "Throw it at our enemy!" She throws the firebrand against the tree, saying: "tñ̃ñ! ča-rị-u′anị[a] na ma dəə[a]′ẽẽ!" (†; ča-rị u′anị[a], my enemy; dəə[a]′ẽẽ, "not to bear, support"). From this moment on she can again move about freely without her relatives' protection; she then usually places herself behind one of the mummers to race with him, and so she continues to dance among the others until the hour of depilation arrives, before or shortly after midday.

881 *The depilation.*—Interrupting the dance, the paternal uncle pulls out a lock of hair from the vərẽkị, then she is led to the center of the house, where she is seated
302 on a tapir hide—nowadays this is almost always superseded by a tururí cloth. A jar full of paiauarú and a smaller pot containing a brew of this drink are placed before her. The uncle and another person with a rattle stick remain beside these jugs. Three to six women sit in a circle round the vərẽkị, on the hide, and immedi-

[a] Three or four days!

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Death and Burial

When a person is dying, all the kin within reach gather round him; otherwise the agony would be much prolonged. Hippolyto's wife fought death for two hours until the arrival of Nino, her husband's paternal uncle, who sent for her husband. Already unconscious, she expired as soon as Hippolyto arrived at her side. Paternal male relatives, primarily brothers and uncles, dig the grave, but other kin also help. They clip the hair, if it has grown excessively during illness, placing the surplus hair next to the body. Nino told me that, on the occasion of his father's death, his mother had the shaman Romão called in, who took down the invisible hammock of the deceased's soul (načii'), rolled it up, and placed it beside the body. At the dead person's side of the house are placed a bit of food and a little drink that he liked when he was alive. All the Tukuna whom I consulted agreed that in ancient times the body was buried, with knees flexed, in an urn; it was decorated with armbands, tooth necklaces, and glass beads. The deceased never had his weapons with him in the grave, lest his načii' use them against living persons. A pot was placed upside down over the mouth of the urn. Thus it was carried to the cemetery (ta'uke) and buried, not very deeply. Over the grave, which was sometimes marked with a stake of muirapiranga wood, the food was placed which previously had been put at the side of the corpse when it was in the house, or a little maize, water, and fire; otherwise, the načii' would come at night and disturb the provisions kept in the house. Highly regarded persons, especially children, were buried inside the house, which was not burned down. 763 764

There are no reports of secondary burial. Weeping of relatives for the deceased was, and is, moderate, and there are no attempts at suicide, mutilations, or injuries motivated by mourning. Upon returning from the burial, all bathe, rubbing themselves with calabash tree (*Crescentia cuyete*) leaves to free themselves of the smell of the corpse. The house is swept, but not the path to the cemetery. On that, however, they scatter the leaves of a plant called dęatę, which serve as flails, arraias (lit., rays, skates) for the načii', impeding their return. 765 [783]

On the left bank of the Igarapé da Rita, a little above Hippolyto's place, an ancient cemetery was discovered, containing many burial pots with bones and beads, covered with flat receptacles. Bates also refers to Tukuna urn burial: "The dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large jars under the floor of their huts." Tessmann describes a form of burial so different that his informant must have referred to funeral customs of some other tribe with which he was acquainted: 764 114 [172]

> Alle Leute, Häuptlinge, gewöhnliche Leute und Kinder werden gleichartig bestattet und zwar in einem Kanu das mit Holzplatten zugedeckt wird. Dieser Sarg wird nicht in den Häusern begraben sondern ausserhalb, in der Pflanzung.... Bei Zauberern wird die Leiche nicht wieder ausgegraben, wohl aber bei Lichtmenschen. Es geschieht nach etwa vier Monaten. Die Schädel und alle Knochen werden herausgenommen, sauber gereinigt, in Körbe betan und an einer besonderen Stelle, die Tauke genannt wird, von neuem bestattet. Es soll ein kleiner Hügel über dieser Stelle aufgehäuft werden.

Canoe burial was practiced by the Omágua, of whom Heriarte wrote in 1662: "When they die they are buried, taken to the river with great ceremony and with

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764 all that they possess of their property. And he who died is placed in a small canoe, [114] which they say he uses for travelling in another world."

The last instances of urn burial probably took place at the end of the last century, since Nino's deceased mother told him that she had attended one. In their heyday, the rubber-collecting patrões obliged the Tukuna to bury their dead in [177] Christian cemeteries and according to Christian custom, so that even today most of the Indians are thus buried. These graves are no different from those of the Neobrazilians. Those found a short distance behind the houses of isolated Indians never have a cross; in its place a post is sometimes put up.

769 Since ancient times, the Tukuna have been accustomed to visit the graves at intervals, taking leaf packages containing food and gourds with beverages. On these occasions they drink manioc beer at the grave, first taking care, however, to permit the načii' to drink first, lest, in the form of a weasel (ira'ra), it destroy the crops. Under Christian influence this ceremony later was set for All Souls' Day [*Día de Finados*], the second of November. Lately, seeing that the Christians were removing and enjoying the Indians' offerings to the dead, the Tukuna have abandoned this practice of leaving food at the graves.

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IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Shaman

According to Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [?] a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man' who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post. Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term for shamans is dyu'vịta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

When auẽ'mana was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auẽ'mana wept alone in the yard the whole night until a *cunaũaré* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.

auẽ'mana grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auẽ'mana extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.

When this became widely known, the people slew auẽ'mana, cutting her neck with a stone knife. She caught the blood that ran down, in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said: "u:u ta'ta pẽ gị na ñe'ị pẽ ãu a'ẽẽ!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a victim enters the body of the killer.

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tessmann refers.[3] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[4] is "dyo'wue"[5] and for the sorcerer "nokewue," a name which I have never heard and cannot explain. Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyuv|kị, but kị means only "person," and in general the term dyu'vịta is employed for both kinds of shaman. The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

Source of power.—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with tree spirits (naiⁿ arị ma:'ñ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls (naa'ẽ), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa;* T., ẽ'pivẽ.
[3] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[4] The word used is *curados*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[5] T., dyu'vịta; see above.—Trans.

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(naa'ũ) of Marcellino had left his body in a dream and gone far up the Solimões to kill people in Peru. There it was wounded by a shaman's knife, and when it returned, Marcellino died of this wound, blood welling up from his mouth. He vomited two potfuls of ta:'kaka, after which he bade farewell to all: "The soul of my deceased mother has just arrived; now I shall go with her!" he said, and died. 754

Calixto daueru'kị told me that the magic songs leave the shaman's body in the form of wasps, lizards, and other small creatures, coming forth from the mouth and disappearing immediately. Nino, in spite of the experience related above, was of the opinion that the magic substances "died of hunger" within the body of the shaman.

The shaman's trance.—Every shaman has certain specific methods of curing, according to his own personal experience. Nino told me how the old shaman Romão proceeded when he undertook cures, at which the informant had been present many times. First, the doctor placed a wad of cut tobacco in each cheek, sat down next to the sufferer—later ordering a cleared place prepared behind him—and began his invocations. After some time, he coughed, fell backward and, shaking his knees, began to sing. It was a tree spirit that had entered his body, singing now through his mouth and declaring that it had caused the disease by command of sorcerer So-and-so. The voice came from Romão's throat as if it came from one of those thick bamboo horns, kɔ'i"ri, used at the puberty ceremony by moiety B. It was said that he had a bumblebee in his throat which caused the sound. When Romão became senile, the insect abandoned him, and he never sang again. After the song, Romão got up to suck from the sufferer's body the pathogenic material. Songs and sucking were thus repeated several times. After the cure was completed, he spat out the tobacco into a special little pot, which he threw away afterward. 755 [754]

It appears to me that it was a cure of this type which Lewis Herndon surprised and interrupted in 1851 at Tabatinga: 755 175 [114]

> After dark he [the missionary] proposed that we should go out and see some of the incantations of the Indians for the cure of the sick. We heard music at a distance, and approached a large house whence it proceeded, in which the padre said there was almost always someone sick. We listened at the door, which was closed. There seemed to be a number of persons singing inside. I was almost enchanted myself. I never heard such tones, and think that even instrumental music could not be made to equal them. . . . I had heard nothing like this before. The tones were so low, so faint, so guttural, and at the same time so sweet and clear that I could scarcely believe they came from human throats; and they seemed fitting sounds in which to address spirits of another world. . . . The noise we made in opening the door caused a hasty retreat of some persons, which we could hear and partly see; and when we entered, we found but two Indians—an old man and a young one—sitting on the floor by a little heap of flaming copal, engaged in chewing tobacco and spitting it in an earthen pot before them. The young man turned his face to the wall with a sullen look, and although the old man smiled when he was patted on the head and desired to proceed with his music, yet it was with a smile that had no mirth of satisfaction in it and showed plainly that he was annoyed, and would have expressed his annoyance had he dared.[a]

Shamans' pipes.—Formerly, the shamans also smoked pipes instead of tauarí cigarettes. These pipes, čim|ta'pa (čim|, centipede), made of black marajá palm wood, were from 15 to 20 cm. long and cone-shaped. The bowl in which the tobacco was placed was between 3 and 4 cm. in diameter. The pipe was smoked through a 756 276

[a] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:236.

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Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion. 773 776

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[10] is so adorned. 177

The souls.—The naa'ẽ or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'k], "what we think" (or thought)." This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ẽ' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective. 774

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven. [787] [761]

The shades of the dead.—Quite different from the role of the naa'ẽ is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[11] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits. 775 [825] [114]

dʊẽ' and the načii'

An Indian named dʊẽ' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curaná [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. dʊẽ' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [i.g. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where dʊẽ' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers. 775 539

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot,[12] answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then dʊẽ' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[10] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[11] The word means "judgment"; ku ñẽ a'ẽ, "thou hast no judgment."
[12] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

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ṅɔra'ne continued to have visions from time to time, almost exclusively of the feasts which ta-na'tị and his companions celebrated at Igarapé ẽ'varẽ, which were apparently carried out in the fashion of rich *civilizados*, with roasted oxen to eat, and so on. In his visions he also encountered me several times, since I was among ta-na'tị's companions. Since I always treated ṅɔra'ne kindly, giving him several small presents, he grew greatly attached to me and was unable to conceal his delight in my company, embracing me and following me about wherever I might go. ṅɔra'ne spoke not a word of Portuguese; he told his revelations preferably to several women and girls related to him, from whom I in turn heard them.

The Tukuna Religion and the Neobrazilians

The Indians will give absolutely no explanation of their religion to the Neobrazilians, especially to the priests. To satisfy importunate interrogators they usually affirm belief in "tupana" (l.g. for "god" or "saint") and fear of the "yurupari'" (l.g. for "devil"), but they reveal nothing about dyɔi' or ta-ẽ' or about their animistic beliefs. References in the literature, from Ribeiro de Sampaio in 1884 to Tessmann, are proof of this: there is always apparent the pretense of a belief in Christianity without any basis in fact. The Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis has for several years been making praiseworthy efforts to learn something of the native religion. Until 1941, at least, he had learned nothing—nor had the Tukuna learned anything from him. They treat him well; they like him for his simple and affable ways but are secretly convinced, in spite of everything, that he can be only an enemy of their religious traditions; hence they continue to pull his leg with yarns of tupa'na and the yurupari'.

To illustrate the extent of Tukuna pretense of Christianity I might mention only that, at a puberty ceremony, I saw on a masquerader, and afterward acquired, a mask of tɔị' that sported the miter, cross, and reddish beard (imitated by hair of a squirrel's tail) of the prelate of São Paulo de Olivença. I also saw another demon masquerader who brandished as a dance staff a cross that could have come only from some Christian grave.

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APPENDIX B

Linguistic Classification

Rivet describes Tukuna as "un dialecte arawak très corrompu" and cites numerous lexicological examples in support. Of these, however, some do not seem to me to be valid, principally because of the deficient phonetic reproduction of Tukuna in the vocabularies which Rivet had at his disposal. 197 114

Nothing can be proved with such examples as the following:

	Tukuna	Arawak	Uainumá
mouth	a	hai, hoi, ya, ye (tooth)	
water	dä'a'		
	dä-čii	čia' (river)	
earth	guaia		
	vaj'mj' (va-j, black; mj', mass)		ga'hau

In Uainumá the word does not even appear to be composed in the same way (ča'riri, black). However, in spite of these qualifications, the Tukuna vocabulary undoubtedly has a number of borrowed elements from the Arawak languages, as Brinton and Tessmann have also recognized. Among the thirty-eight word stems which Tessmann offers, it appears to me that there are nine—not only six—which have their Arawakan equivalents.

The Tupí influence is greater than Rivet supposes, even disregarding certain equivalents, such as the following:

	Tukuna	Tupí
drink (v.)	aü'	au'

when the stem is u and the pronominal prefix of the first person singular is a-. Or:

	Tukuna	Tupí	Guaraní
branch	ča'kii (?)	šakao	tacang

It also appears in the pronouns, which Rivet correctly noted but did not take into consideration in his table. The similarities with Yurí are fewer, but not less in importance, and it is regrettable that we lack phonetically written vocabularies of this language; I myself did not find anyone who still spoke it.

The Tukáno element, which Tessmann cites as the second influence, is very weak, as Rivet noticed also. As for the Múra, which Loukotka mentions as a component of Tukuna, I have found no certain vestiges.

There is, however, another element in Tukuna—the Gê, to which Martius has drawn attention, listing eleven examples, which Rivet increased to sixteen. We note also that both authors include in the Gê family the Kamakã' and the Maŝakarí. In order to present in an orderly fashion all the material we have on the various languages in question, I list below Rivet's sixteen Gê equivalents. All are given in my own phonetic orthography except words for which I have no corresponding terms; these are given in Rivet's orthography, with quotation marks.

English	Tukuna	Equivalents
1. hair	dya'ü	da-zai' (ferénte; favínte) "aã" (Malalí)
2. to run	nya	nya:'ni (Kamakã' [Kotoxó])

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English	Tukuna	Equivalents
3. caiman	kʼya	kuihʲ (Serente; Ramkokamekra)
4. water	dʒeʼ; dʒɛʼ‖	"kedechiã" (Kotoxó), river
		tsaˀ-kʼwaːʼ (? Kamakã)
5. woman	ãĩ	nyenazkwaːʼ (Kamakã [Kotoxó]), girl
		niela (Kamakãʼ [Kotoxó]), woman (not listed by Rivet)
		ndi (Rąmkõʼkamekra [Krahó]), vulva
6. fire	ʧiʼ	čaxkẹʼ (Kamakãʼ [Kotoxó])
7. a tough grass (sapém)	maĩʼ	"mahe-ky" (Corôado), maize
		"mmky" (Puri), maize
8. maize	čavʲʼ	čyʼi (Maxakarí, etc.)
9. shinbone	para	paːʼri (Apinayé), foot
		paːʼri (Apąnyekra), foot
		"t'cha-perré" (Corôado), foot
10. rice	avatiiʼ	wosaiʼ (Suyá), maize
		awatiʼ (both branches of the Tupí)
11. nail	paʼtį	pataʼ (Maxakarí, etc.), foot
		pa-tó (Apąʼnyekra), our shinbone
		"ni-pata" (Kotoxó), bone (Kamakãʼ; dionče = bone)
12. foot	kutį	"bathaja-koʼto" (Apąnyekra), calf of leg (?)
		"guang-gathie" (Kamakãʼ), femur [? toẹ, leg]
		pą-či (Maxakarí, etc.), thigh; [kotóy = toe]
13. branch	čaʼk‖	piˀ-yaleʼ, (Rąmkõʼkamekra [Apąnyekra]), root
14. sun	ǀakʲʼ	čaxkẹʼ (Kamakãʼ, etc.)
15. earth	vaǀʼmįˀ	"hãme" (Koropó)
		hahąʼm (Maxakarí, etc.; Pataxó)
16. head	ʔʼru	hẹroʼ (Kamakãʼ, etc.)

No. 10 is erroneously classified. Nos. 4, 6, 12, and 15 compare radically dissimilar forms. Nos. 7, 11, and 13 are words with quite different meanings (nail = foot = shinbone). In Nos. 3, 8, and 14, perhaps also in No. 1, the resemblance is pretty vague. That leaves us:

	Tukuna		
2. rain	nyaː	nyaːʼni (Kamakãʼ)	nyani (Guaraní)
5. woman	ãĩ	niela (Kamakãʼ)	
9. shinbone	para	paːʼri (Timbira-Kayapó)	pra (Serente, foot; plural, pẽ)
16. head	ʔʼru	hẹroʼ (Kamakãʼ)	

And we can also add:

good	mã	mpã (Timbira)	mã (Kapayó)

This is very little; and furthermore, the five, or rather eight, resemblances embrace three distinct linguistic families of eastern Brazil: Gê (4 equivalents), Kamakãʼ (3 equivalents), Tupí-Guaraní (1 equivalent). However, I do not think that these resemblances are entirely fortuitous, even though I can offer no acceptable explanation of them. The hypothesis which Rivet admits as most probable, i.e., that "certaines dialectes gês ont emprunté a l'arawak des radicaux nombreux," is useless because only one of the words compared is also found in the Arawak languages, which evidently cannot have been the transmitters. In this context it is well to remember that Gê elements also appear in certain languages of the upper

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Madeira: a few are found in the languages of the Capakúra family, and they are a little more evident in the isolated language of the Jabutí (and Arikapú) of the upper Rio Branco, tributary to the Guaporé, discovered and reported on by H. Snethlage in 1933.

The grammatical characteristics of Tukuna are the following: one article, na (which is placed before the substantive), different from the personal pronoun of the third person, na; two plural suffixes of substantives, *-ta* and *-pi;* and a suffix, *-ï*, of the plural of verbs. There are distinct forms for the singular and plural of both transitive and intransitive verbs, viz.:

to go (one person) u°
to go (several persons) ï°

to kill (one person) ma/
to kill (several persons) dar'i

The Tukuna forms for the first person singular (masc.) and the first person plural (masc.) of certain pronouns correspond to the Tupí, as well as the Yurí, forms. These are:

First person singular (masc.) ža
First person plural (masc.) ta

(Omágua: tana = us, exclusively.) For the Tukuna pronoun of the second person singular, ku, I have found no corresponding form in any language (unless it be the Uro, eun ?). The personal pronouns (demonstrative) of the third person are the most distinctive characteristic of the Tukuna language. In addition to the distinction of gender, which is expressed only in them, many of these pronouns convey also a local and temporal meaning. I do not know of a similar process in any other language.

This distinction of gender in the third person of the pronouns (as well as in the substantives) is certainly one of the best criteria of the Arawakan languages, but it is lacking precisely in the Arawakan language immediately next to Tukuna, viz., Kayuišána, while it appears in the non-Arawakan languages of the region—Witóto, Miránya, and Tukáno. Nor do there appear to be other grammatical affinities between Tukuna and the Arawakan languages. Since the Tukuna lexical elements do not represent an appreciable percentage of the Arawakan languages, I do not believe that there is sufficient ground for including Tukuna in the Arawak family, as Brinton, Rivet, and Loukotka have done. It is preferable to consider it, for the time being, as Chamberlain and Tessmann do, an isolated language.

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THE TUCUNA

By Curt Nimuendaju

HABITAT, HISTORY, AND LANGUAGE

The *Tucuna* (*Tukuna, Ticuna*), not to be confused with the *Tucano*, occupied the jungle tracts of the tributaries of the northern side of the Amazon-Solimões River from long. 71°15′ (Peruaté Island) to 68° 40′ W., and the upper course of the streams on the opposite side of the watershed of the Putumayo-Içá River (map 1, *No. 4;* map 5). They avoided the banks of the Amazon-Solimões, fearing the *Omagua*, their traditional enemies of the islands. When the latter disappeared, the *Tucuna* spread out over the islands and shores of the Solimões as far as the Auatí-Paraná River (long. 66°30′ W.).

The country is flat, covered by Amazonian jungle. A wide strip bordering on the Solimões River is subject to great periodical floods.

The *Tucuna*, inconspicuous in the history of the Amazon, were first mentioned in 1641 by Cristobal d'Acuña.

Rivet (1912 b) designated the *Tucuna* language as "un dialecte arawak très corrompu." Only a part of his list of lexicological similarities appears to be valid, especially as he lacked sufficient reference material on the *Tucuna* language. There is, however, no doubt that the *Tucunan* vocabulary has a number of elements which were borrowed from the *Arawakan* languages, as noted also by Brinton (1901) and Tessmann (1930). *Tupí* influence is greater than Rivet supposed, being revealed in the pronouns, which he noted but did not evaluate. Correspondences with *Yurí* are fewer, but not unimportant. It is regrettable that there is not more phonetic material on this language. The *Tucanan* element, which Tessmann states is second in importance, is, as Rivet also noted, very weak. The *Mura* element postulated by Loukotka lacks absolute proof.

Martius called attention to 11 *Ge* elements in *Tucunan;* Rivet added five more examples. (Both Martius and Rivet include *Camacán* and *Masacarian* in the *Ge* family.) But, of Rivet's 16 *Ge* elements, only 4 are valid, 3 being formed of *Camacán* elements and only one of *Ge* elements.

There is, therefore, insufficient evidence for Brinton's, Rivet's, and Loukotka's inclusion of *Tucunan* in the *Arawakan* family. For the present, it is advisable to follow Chamberlain and Tessmann in considering it a separate language.

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Each residence has a proper name, given by the owner at a special feast. Houses are usually clean. 552 356

Household furniture.—Hammocks are made by a netlike technique of tucum thread of different colors; they are now used only for daytime resting. Clothes are kept in large baskets. 513 286

On the struts and rafters of the house one can often see remnants of the paraphernalia of feasts: masks, turury fringes, drums, and dance sticks. Ears of maize hang from the frame of the house or are piled in the loft. 352

The *Tucuna* never build a fire or eat in the dwelling. The kitchen is always a small separate house. Fire was formerly produced by drilling a horizontal piece of wood, which was placed over two cross pieces. There is, however, a tradition that even in old times they made fire by striking two stones. [343] 372

Fire fans are made exclusively of large bird wings. [412]

The *Tucuna* have plenty of small four-legged stools, either rectangular or oval, made from a single piece of wood, sometimes elaborately carved in the shape of a chelonian or batrachian. 352 532

TRANSPORTATION

Formerly, the *Tucuna* traveled largely on land, although on the small streams they used small primitive canoes made of paxiuba palm. From the *Omagua* they learned to make "ubá" type dugout canoes, and from the Neo-Brazilians to make "casco" type dugouts which were widened by heating them over a fire. These are sometimes provided with round shields (rodellas) and gunwales. *Tucuna* canoes are so well made that civilized people seek them. Paddles have crutch handles and a round blade with a large point. The blade and the crosspiece on the end of the handle, but not the handle, are invariably painted black. 501 [177]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

Formerly, both sexes trimmed their hair slightly over the brows, and used a comb made of twigs held between two parallel sticks. 302

Both sexes used to pierce their ear lobes; only women do so now. Through the hole they usually wore little plates of white wood; on feast days they inserted small rods with feathers on the front end, from which a small metal plate hung. Women's plates were triangular, men's moon-shaped. Long ago they pierced the nasal septum, through which they had put a little rod of *Gynerium*. They also used to tattoo the face, which at one time may have indicated clans. There are still recollections of circumcision of girls, but not of men, as described by Father Noronha in 1768. 304 301 [174] [114]

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861 More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punish-
824 ment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls
524 carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

173 **Boys' puberty observances.**—There is a tradition that in former times,
881 young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally.

114 There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930,
838 p. 563).

881 **Girls' puberty rites.**—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406)
[114] proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condi-
[626] tion requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

[342] The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety.
[532] They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

[262] Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning
[574] her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances
[202] receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date,
[534] is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclu-
[534] sion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco
[276] powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older cus-
[562] tomarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instru-
[858] ments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

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is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation.

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*.

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults.

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

All that I have been able to *note*, rather than write, respecting their idiom—thick, guttural, and almost inexpressible as it is by the European glottis—is given in the subjoined table. 192

TICUNA IDIOM.

God	Tupana.	manioc (cassava)	tícha.
devil	mholseh.	banana	ppohhi.
heaven	nahné.	cotton	tech.
sun	chajeh.	palm	houmich.
moon	tahuemajeh.	flour	nachacon.
star	ehtta.	wax	ehah.
day	benehi.	peccary	ñeunhoun.
night	mitan.	tiger	hai.
morning	pamah.	cayman	ecoya.
yesterday	ineh.	bird	huari.
to-day	heinhua.	butterfly	diori.
water	dechieh.	fly	cauhta.
fire	ejheh.	mosquito	ah.
rain	poká.	white	ecori.
cold	dayoun.	black	huahué.
heat	ayaqué.	red	dahouh.
earth	huahin.	green	deheh.
stone	aheká.	blue	yauh.
sand	nanekeh.	thief	mhuinta.
river	natejh.	to steal	nameuhuita.
forest	naïnejé.	to open	ddea.
tree	naïné.	to attach	queyanay.
wood	naï.	to roast	nahnaï.
man	iyaté.	to run	iñah.
woman	ihié.	to arrive	hintahua.
child	boah.	to go out	reinbouhou.
old man	yuaga.	to sleep	peh.
old woman	yaqué.	to awake	bayanshi.
young	yaté.	to eat	toïbueh.
dead (or death)	tayouh.	one	hueih.
house	ih.	two	tarepueh.
canoe	oüheh.	three	tomepueh.
oar	euemuih.	four	aguemoujih.
basket	pechi.	five	huesamepueh.
girdle	maïchincharé.	six	naïmehuenpueh.
bow	huerah.	seven	naïmehuestareh.
blowing-tube	nihieh.	eight	naïmehuestamenpueh.
lance	nané.	nine	gomenpueh.
poison	goré.	ten	gomeh.
fish	sahoni.		

During our journey up the Atacoari, we were witnesses, though not of the tragedy itself, which took place at some distance, at least of the results of a tragedy in which an ethnologist of the old school would have seen an incontestable proof of the existence of the warlike women of the river Nhamondaz, concerning whom travellers and savants have written much, from Orellana who first saw them in action and dubbed them *Amazons*, down to La Condamine, who, it is true, did not obtain personal experience of them, but who, on the authority of a sergeant-major of the Brazilian force, who, in his turn, obtained his knowledge of such matters from a deceased grandfather, thought 114

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

it his duty, as a member of the Academy, to bear public witness to the existence of this supposed race of chivalric women.

A Ticuna Indian and his better-half started from home in a canoe in order to visit a plantation they possessed on the left bank of the Atacoari, for the purpose of procuring a supply of roots. Just as they reached the bank, a tiger, hidden among the vegetation, suddenly, and at a single bound, seized the man, who was in the forepart of

A DESCENDANT OF THE AMAZONS.

the canoe. Whether the brute had made an inaccurate aim or the mud interfered with her leap, it happened, however, that instead of gripping the shoulders of the savage, as her intention undoubtedly was, she simply struck him on the head with her right paw, and with her claws literally scalped the poor fellow, who rolled over, an insensible bleeding mass, to the bottom of the canoe, whilst the tiger, with her head above water, and with open mouth and blood-shot eyes, endeavoured to board the canoe. The tiger might have effected her purpose had not the woman seized her husband's lance, and plunged it with all the force of her two hands into the brute's throat, and thus spitted her like a chicken: the animal fell back into the water, struggled a little, and ultimately succumbed to impalement and asphyxia.

Having rid herself of her enemy, instead of falling on her knees and addressing her god Tupana, with "Thanks, O my God!" she reseated herself in the hind part of